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uniting a married couple are weak as compared with say, the Bemba.[22] The bride is anointed with gall, and carries the gall bladder in her hair back to her own village as a sign that she has been through the marriage ceremony and has been instructed in her wifely duties by her husband's kinsfolk and neighbours. But the husband himself is usually not there, 'that day is not his work', and I once saw a man quietly drinking on one side of the village while his bride was being anointed on the other. In general it is not until much later that husband and wife appear together in ceremonial situations. The personal association of husband and wife begins in darkness and the privacy of the hut. Later the wife will have validated her status as a married woman, and can appear as such in public alongside her husband without embarrassment.

It is when a woman is pregnant that her husband's actions are most liable to affect her mystically. In general a man may commit adultery and his wife has no case against him; but when she is pregnant he is under a moral obligation to sleep only with her and, if he is a polygynist, with his other wives. His adultery endangers her life, for it is believed that her labour will be difficult and she or the child may die. The pregnant woman is in mortal danger if she herself commits adultery and there is a common obligation of fidelity on both man and wife throughout pregnancy, accompanied in the eyes of some people by a positive obligation to copulate together so that the foetus may grow strong in the womb. When labour proves difficult, the midwife calls on the husband to confess the adulteries he committed while his wife was pregnant so that the child can be born. She may also tell the woman to confess.[23] If the child is born dead, the woman's relatives begin to suspect that the man confessed only some of his adulteries and concealed others, thereby killing the child. We have already noted that if the woman dies the husband must offer a beast to her kinsfolk (pp. 39f).

From the birth of the child until its umbilical cord has fallen off and it has been doctored, the husband should not sleep with anyone at all, not even with his other wives. He can resume sexual relations with them after the cord has fallen but he does not sleep with the mother of the child until about three months after the birth, when he has ritual intercourse with her and the child is again doctored. While the infant is sleeping the husband has *coitus interruptus* with its mother and allows his semen to fall on her thighs. She smears the semen over her thighs and then takes up the child and gives it to her husband, who rests it on his hips. After a moment he hands the infant back to his wife who also rests it on her hips. The child is then put back to sleep on the mat beside the couple. This ritual intercourse is obligatory in that if it is omitted it is believed the child

[22] Cf. Richards, op. cit., p. 113.
[23] Cf. Rattray, op. cit., p. 105, and H. F. Barnes, 'The birth of a Ngoni child', *Man*, xlix (1949), p. 89.

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will die. The child is in danger from the illness known as *mdulo* throughout the period from birth until the resumption of intercourse between its parents. It is not until after this ceremony, known as 'taking up the child' [23] that the mystical link between man, wife, and child is broken and the man free to commit adultery without mystical retribution. Thus while there are definite rights and obligations between husband and wife which can be enforced in the courts or are susceptible to the pressure of public opinion there are also in the critical situations of pregnancy and childbirth other mystical forces operating which unite the couple to a greater extent than at any other time. To a lesser extent the same principle operates when a woman menstruates. Her husband is in danger from her menstrual blood. She may not lie on the same mat with him and if he has a bed she must lie on the floor. If he has intercourse with her while she is menstruating he will contract an illness called *lugola* [24] whose symptoms are a very black face, nasal discharge, and continual feeling of cold. After death a man's widows are in danger of *mdulo* if they commit adultery during the first month of mourning.

We see then that the relationship between a man and his wife is partly defined in legal terms, with mutual duties and rights that are enforceable in the courts. This relationship is documentated and validated by the transfer of money and cattle from one group to the other and by the performance of the various marriage ceremonies. Because of the relationship between them, man and wife live together, sleep together, eat together and work together. But above all, together they produce and rear children. It is primarily because of these children that the kin of man and wife are concerned in the marriage relationship. It is during the long process of producing children that the two spouses are most closely associated with each other, and actions of the one in some mystical way directly and automatically influence the well-being of the other.

When a marriage grows out of flirtation between a young man and a young woman, there is at first sexual attraction between them. With the passage of time this may give place to a broader sentiment of mutual affection and respect. To this extent we may say that man and wife come to love each other. But whereas young men frequently discuss with other men the attraction they experience towards women, unmarried or married, they do not do this when they have settled down and begun to acquire prestige in the community. A man may quarrel with his wife in public, but he never expresses his affection for her, save in the intimacies of the hut. Men and women mourn their spouses with great lamentation at funerals, but while this may sometimes be the expression of a personal

[23] *Kutola mwana*. Cf. *kutenga mwana* among the Cewa.

[24] Cf. Read, op. cit., 'The moral code . . .', p. 19, where she describes a medicine called *ugola* with which men doctored their wives so that their lovers would die of a wasting sickness. Also cf. Zulu *ulugola*.